F.O.R. Fellowship

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Around the World with Pacifists

Reginald Sorensen
Waldo Frank
Myrtle Wright
J. Martin England
Henriette and Philippe Vernier
John Nevin Sayre
Andre and Magda Trocme
Theodore Michaltscheff

ff The world is full of a number of things, as a poet discovered and announced some years ago, and whether or not we are as happy as kings (who are probably not the most cheerful citizens of the earth these days, anyway), no one can possibly have any excuse for being bored.

As you have probably gathered, dear reader, from the map and caption on the cover of this July issue of FELLOWSHIP, the magazine this month is devoted to articles from all over the world. They arrived on our desk from various sources, sometimes through someone in this country and sometimes direct from overseas. Some were not originally intended as articles at all, some came purely by impulse of the author, and some were solicited by us for this purpose. It makes up, we think, an unusually interesting issue, and our only regret is that the magazine is not big enough to have included several more we have on hand, one from Italy, one from Germany, and one from South Africa.

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By Way of Introduction . . .

For this summer issue the Editors have collected reports and articles from different parts of the world. Not complete coverage by any means, it still gives a glimpse of the global picture. Some are reports on the pacifist movement itself, as in Germany and Japan; some are by pacifists about the state of their different countries, like Myrtle Wright's on Norway, and Reginald Sorensen's from Great Britain; some are the more or less personal chronicles of what individual pacifists have been doing, like Henriette Vernier's report about Philippe's work in the mine; and some are unclassifiable.

Each country has its own problems. While we in the United States try to stem the "Red scare" and war hysteria, the German pacifist movements suffer from the currency reform and the frustration and discouragement of the people. Norway, once independent-thinking, is falling into the orbit of the West, and Latin America, in some ways even younger and more brash than the United States, is in turmoil between military dictatorship and violent revolution.

In many areas the picture is dark—but in as many, candles have been lighted, and their flickering flames, though small, may lead the way toward hope for the future and peace for the world.

NORWAY

Sold American

By MYRTLE WRIGHT

An English Quaker who had worked in Scandinavia for the Friends, Myrtle Wright was caught in Norway by the German invasion. She lived there throughout the war, sharing the wartime experiences of her Norwegian friends and in close contact with the underground. She returned to England after the war but is now again living in Oslo.

THE FINANCE DEPARTMENT of the Norwegian Government has agreed that members of the Society of Friends and the War Resisters International (and no one asks for a members' list so some who are not actually in membership will be included at the discretion of the two bodies) may send their receipted tax forms for the Defense Tax through the two bodies and the total sum paid will then be transferred to the *ordinary taxes*. As those who have protested against the Defense Tax have delayed payment until now, they have made themselves liable to pay interest on the tax sum—a normal form of disability here, which I do not know from other places, but I have always paid my few taxes so promptly! The "protesting payers" are to be allowed to apply for the return of this interest. The importance of this last is that it shows that the protest is recognized as valid and those accepting the arrangements are not to be penalized.

Clearly this "solution" cannot be called even a "peace tax" and has very little other than "symbolic protest value"—to quote A. J. Muste. The money will simply swell the ordinary revenue, 15 percent of which goes in any case to defense purposes. Even if the sum were larger than it is it would not go to more positive work nor alter the sums available for defense purposes. It is simply a bookkeeping arrangement which registers protest and insofar as it is made public has propaganda value. The WRI are contemplating taking up the question of the normal taxes and their attitude to them in the future.

The sum involved is, however, ridiculously small. I doubt if the two societies between them will produce more than twenty protestors, if that. (The tax is on capital and incomes over a certain figure and does not involve the majority of normal tax payers.) I doubt if the sum involved will exceed, say, $2800, of which two payments account for half that sum! The last government allocation for defense was kr. 100 million (about $14,000,000)! Put alongside this a recent debate in the Storting (the Norwegian parliament) on the usual grant to peace work—a curious form of government grant. It has

been kr. 10,000 per year—a princely total of about $1400. It was suggested this year it should be reduced by half but this economy was not made and the Foreign Minister, (Halvard Lange, a liberal and former pacifist), among others, defended the size of the grant because the peace socities were useful in spreading information! Personally I would not like to see our peace work supported by government funds, but how can responsible people have the cheek to deal with such figures—hundreds of millions for "defense" and ten thousand for "peace"!

One Friend, who is a farmer, has refused to pay the Defense tax in any form and is expecting to have his property taken—in this case it will be a cow, which is reminiscent of the days over one hundred years ago when the Friends in Norway refused Church taxes, military service and other things, and on a farm in the same neighborhood as the above all the live-stock were taken except one calf. Again one must remember these are farms with three or four cows at the most, a sheep and pig and a few hens!

And so to the question of defense and the Atlantic Pact. Before I tell that short but sad story I can mention another debate in the Storting. There is here a recognized civilian service for those who refuse military service—a camp from which forestry or other group manual labor is done. Since the war no camp has been established, and the COs have not been called up. The length of service was one and a half the length of the military, which has now itself risen to one year. The debate was on the occasion of the establishment of a camp, and concerned the suggestion that the term should not be longer than the military service. It was gratifying to find this coming forward. It found support for two main reasons—first, the practical one that it was too expensive and the national economy could not stand it. The second was the argument that it was not right to penalize those who took this stand for the sake of conscience. It was to be noted that those who gave support to this second argument were *not* the Foreign Minister and some of his Labor Party colleagues, who themselves in their youth were COs, but was voiced by quite other persons who have not previously been known for any peaceful point of view.

Defense Preparations

Now, the background of all this is the after-the-A-Pact atmosphere. Those of us who opposed the A-Pact (and it may be of interest to note that Friends in both Norway and Denmark took this line) can be glad that some of the effects we feared have not yet come about —an increase of Russia's defenses in the north and in Finland, for example, though what Russia has done internally one cannot know. Here in Norway the effect is to "gleichgestalt" us into the American pattern—the western pattern if you will—of increased armaments and preparations for "defense," and to give official sanction to all preparations of this sort. Norway along with the others scrambles for its share of dollars to be used for armaments and by their acceptance places itself not in a position of neutral defense, but be-

comes a satellite of America and the West. There are plans for bunkers for every center of population over three thousand, courses for air-raid precautions, and almost worst of all the enrollment of most of the older schoolboys in the "Heimwehr" where they have uniforms and weapons and where the evening exercises or longer manoeuvres take precedence over school work, if there is any question. I receive the local Cambridge paper from England and read that two air-raid precautions instructors are to be appointed at a salary of five hundred pounds a year, and it seems that the provincial papers of Norway, England and all the other countries are telling precisely the same story.

Sold to the West

It is so obvious that England and America go together, but there was a time when history, culture, language and geographical position, to name only a few things, left Norway with its own opinions, its own freedom and its own part to play in international politics. Now we are sold body and soul to the Western powers and all the present-day fear of Russia and uncritical criticism seeps in here as elsewhere.

The opposition of January-February 1949 is now little heard, though in the peace movement, among Communists and in some other circles the attitude remains the same. We now are watching the sad results of the policy of the Pact with the arrival of American weapons and arms and the way in which Norway is drawn into the politics of the Western Powers. The general support for defense measures and of the Pact policy make propaganda for peace based on understanding, confidence and a reduction of defense very unpopular and difficult. The general acceptance of western military defense to preserve peace and a general distrust of the hope that it can be preserved is tragic in a country such as Norway which is naturally so little militaristic. A report from here must be very sober and certainly not encouraging for the cause of peace.

Belief in Force

At Lofthus [a summer conference] we had a good long peace discussion—of course not nearly long enough to get very far. It was encouraging to find that in a group of sixty, half members of the Society, criticism of the A-Pact was accepted. The one exception was a young woman student who had never been in touch with Friends or pacifists before—was there as a friend of one of our group. Her heated criticism of the pacifist view which had been put forward revealed the nature of the poison which has infected so much of the average and intelligent youth of today. They believe force is the only protection and the rest follows —and what shall we do when our leaders tell us this is so? On all sides I hear criticism of the Church on the peace issue. It is a tragic truth that this is so easy and so well deserved. We had at Lofthus a pacifist Methodist minister. The Good Templars Youth Organization has decided to make pacifism a condition of membership and we will try to increase our contacts with other pacifists—there is strength in unity and here we have our backs to the wall.

GERMANY
The Conquered

By THEODORE MICHALTSCHEFF

A professor now living in Hamburg, Theodore Michaltscheff is Chairman of the German Section of the War Resisters International, and edits "Die Friedensrundschau," its monthly paper.

THE GERMAN SECTION of the War Resisters' International will soon be three years old. I cannot say that we have done very much in the course of these three years. Various factors have contributed towards making our work slow and even ineffective.

The first of these factors was, and still is, the prevailing general apathy, due to the economic and political situation of this country. People over here, especially the younger generation, are very distrustful. They were too deeply disappointed, first by Hitler and then by the Allies, and they have lost faith in politics and collective activities of any kind.

At the end of the hostilities Germany had a great chance. People over here were tired of Nazism and dictatorship, tired of militarism and war, and they were eager to try new ways and to venture into new fields of thought and action. They were far from being democrats or pacifists, of course, but they were prepared to go to great lengths along these lines. Unfortunately they were not given a chance to do so. The Allies chose to treat them as a third rate and criminal people. They came not as liberators—eagerly expected by the mass of the German people—but as conquerors, and that made all the difference for everybody.

We are now trying to patch up the debris of what might have been the largest pacifist and democratic movement in Europe and perhaps all over the world. Patchwork, however, carries all the symptoms of patchwork with it and it can never inspire the people or win a large following for itself.

The second factor which contributed and still contributes towards hampering our work is the economic situation here. Germany has gone through a very serious economic crisis, the effects of which are far from being overcome. A great many of our friends, notably those who used to be most active and most generous with their contributions, have become very poor and cannot spare even fifty pfennigs a month. Our groups have no money and the German section is working practically without any money whatsoever. This is the reason why we are not in a posi-

tion to undertake any public activities on a large scale.

The shock of the currency reform which followed soon after the Stuttgart conference in 1948 proved so strong that practically all activity stopped dead. It took us quite a long time to recover from it, and even now we have not completely recovered.

Meetings Held

The first public appearance we made after the currency reform was in connection with Stuart Morris' visit in August 1948 and the commemoration of Hiroshima Day. Then followed the "Grenztreffen" (border gathering) at Aachen and a series of public meetings on a smaller scale, which continued up to the end of the critical year of 1948.

Activities in 1949 began with the commemoration of Gandhi's death in public meetings practically all over the country. Then followed Bhikshu Nirmalananda's lecture tour in March and Stuart Morris' in May, with lectures in nearly thirty towns. Hiroshima Day was celebrated in a number of towns in this country, but the largest meetings took place in Hamburg and Berlin. In the latter city a memorial "eternal fire" was lighted, which will be kept going by the magistrate of the city of Berlin.

During the past winter, 1949-50, the Hamburg group of the WRI organized, in cooperation with a number of local pacifist and cultural organizations, a series of lectures under the general denomination of "Roads to Peace." These lectures kept us busy until the end of January, when Heinz Kraschutzki returned from India and gave lectures in four cities of Western Germany. The German section also sent an Open Letter to the members of the German parliament at Bonn on the subject of the right of the individual to refuse military service. Plans for summer activities are in preparation.

There is not a very large increase in membership of the German section. This is due partly to the fact that a number of old members have dropped out and newcomers just filled in the gaps.

Three new groups were formed in the course of the last year: in München-Gladbach, Düsseldorf and Seelbach. Six other groups are in formation, in Duisburg, Wunsiedel, Künzelsau, Meschede, Augsburg and Schropfheim. In Köln some young friends are trying to build up a local group besides the existing student group. The group in München was reorganized following its collapse after the currency reform. The same applies also for Regensburg.

Our paper "Die Friedensrundschau" is published regularly each month. Its outward appearance has improved lately, but there is no increase in the number of subscribers. Two thousand copies is the average number published. We are now sending one hundred copies to our Austrian friends and twenty to Switzerland, but there is no real cooperation between the German section and the sections of these two countries.

We have also published six pamphlets: "Who Are We?," "What Is the WRI?," "East and West," "Non-Violence for Orient and Occident," "On War," by Erasmus, and "Over to Pacifism," by Garry Davis. Also three postcards for

propaganda purposes and a handbill called "War Is a Crime" and "Say No to War."

Last summer a number of German friends attended the International Summer Camp in Denmark and this summer we are planning two summer camps (Grenztreffen) of our own. One in the West part of the country at München-Gladbach from July 21 to August 3, will have quite an international character. The second, on a smaller scale, will take place on the German side of the Danish-German border, to which friends from the Scandinavian countries especially are invited. We hope to extend these frontier gatherings to the south of Germany in cooperation with the Austrian and Swiss friends. Our ambitions go still further and we hope some day to be able to extend these frontier gatherings to the East as well, but times are not propitious for that as yet.

BELGIUM

Adventure in the Mines

By HENRIETTE VERNIER

Last October Philippe Vernier took a job on the night shift in the mines, where he works from 10 p.m. to 6 a.m. The other men are Belgians, former German prisoners of war, and Slavic displaced persons. Their job is to move the heavy beams and apparatus from tunnels which have been worked that day to the shoulder-high tunnels where work will begin the next morning.

LAST SUMMER'S SEMINAR at Le Chambon seems the last glowing memory of a lost paradise, of an easy life without problems which is gone! and since September all my energies are concentrated on accepting the actual existence and getting along, which is no little job.

From 6:30 in the morning when I get up to welcome Philo back from his night job working in the mine, to 11:00, I am on the go, I do not rest. He keeps better than I imagined, he sleeps from 7 o'clock in the morning till 1 or 2 perfectly well, and until now has not been much upset: I answer letters, visits and telephones. He sleeps like a baby, and after an hour of recovering while he eats, he is fresh and happy for his work in the church in the afternoon. He is *marvellously renewed*, he is sure he is on the right way, he loves the men, his parish, the visits—the life is disciplined, regular, and if the night demands of him an enormous physical effort, it gives him a nervous relaxation after years when he was never alone. "What joy," he says, "to be able to meditate four or five hours, never have I had such good prayers for everything and

everybody." He is in the cutting, most of the time on his knees, and prepares the iron beams for those who will come to put up timbers in the morning. He climbs up again from five hundred metres, sixty or one hundred weight each sixty to one hundred kilos, on sheet iron, pushing carts weighing many tons; there are seven or eight men, and truly when he returns in the morning, having perspired and drunk three litres of water, he is exhausted. He tells me in three or four minutes what has happened during the night. "We sang the choral of Luther with two other men, of which one was a doctor twenty-six years old"; or "Italian oaths are pithy. The madonna—what she has to take!" or again they have talked of politics and dictatorship—or he has succeeded in reconciling two Belgians who wanted to kill each other, the one having said to the other that his wife was a nastier mess than a bucket of coal.

True Reconciliation

That was the subject of a true discussion on reconciliation and they understood the first phrase of the song "friendship." Another great to-do was a theological discussion on the madonna. They call him pastor, and he is the only one to whom they say "you," although he is simply a worker and begs them to "thou" him. Once one of the workers came to see me and told me he was brave and had "de la vue," that is to say, discernment in his trial. It is evident that we will never profit much from what he says and does down there, but the result on himself is evident: he is happy and filled up. He says also that the psalms and canticles take on there an unknown accent. He works nine hundred metres away and walks for an hour to reach the mine. The night has no machines, it is silent then (and without dust, no danger for the lungs!)—sometimes walking along he hears pebbles fall, the woods crack under the pressure of the earth, and he recites, "Though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death, thou art with me"—he is exalted. For me too, when my heart is sore, the words of the Bible bring back my courage. Briefly, the first benefit of this adventure is for us and our home.

Still an Inn!

After three weeks of discussion and hesitation, Philippe received authorization to try this experience and remain pastor of the Belgian Christian Missionary Church, and at Quaregnon. He thinks that so far his pastoral work has not suffered, he goes out from 2:30 to 8 for visits and has a daily meeting each evening before leaving at 9:30. Certainly he is limited to the immediate region of Quaregnon, and many of his friends deplore this limitation.

But (1) this is only one time in his life; (2) he was too scattered, and this discipline is good; (3) the essential thing was for him to get out of his moment of discouragement; (4) the friends of before continue to come, and the inn remains an inn at 2 rue Jean Jaures! —I must admit that I was lost for the first two weeks, and I still have difficult moments; alone at night, that long morning when he sleeps seems interminable to me, in spite of all I have to do, and in the afternoon he goes out! He tries to eat

supper with the children but often it is impossible. I never see him alone any more—and it is a severe sacrifice for you know what one receives from Philippe. In this renouncing I am in the company of ninety percent of the wives of workers, and I consider the immense privilege of the wives of ministers, for whom it is unpardonable to cry about their lot. I have done it, but I am cured, because a pastoral minister has respites from life. It is wrong also to complain about a pastor's salary. Philippe working all night earns only two-thirds of his minister's salary. And what security to lose nothing for days sick, and trips at will! I know now the anguish of the wife who sees her children menaced by each illness of their father. On this point I decided that Philippe should keep his salary from the church, pastor in title, and it is important. He returns his salary from his mine job to the church, but maintains the enormous advantage of being pastor, keeps his parsonage, his parish —and the confidence of his colleagues. Favre and the boys took him to the pits the first day, a moving symbol of the affection which bears us up, as in 1939. We are infinitely grateful. Our parishioners worry about Philippe's health, but comprehending and often more disengaged than before. For many it is a renewal.

The Willem sisters (Mariette of *Service Civil*) have installed themselves at Quaregnon to put their lives in with ours; it is an immense encouragement, and a hope of the beginning of a sharing and communal life. Every moment the way becomes clearer. Philippe will hold up physically, I believe, he has a good look. The hardest day is Sunday, after Saturday night without sleep. "You will work six days . . ." is not an easy command. I am beginning to understand why ministers are easier than workers with big families. What a job for the mother when the husband is not even there for meals!

One of the ideas Philippe and I often talk about is the value of the friendships at the mine. The job creates immediate contact with his co-workers and he has a less artificial relationship with them than with men he visits pastorally. The actual position of the pastor "playing the part" is often false, and he must return to communities where all are men among men.

He appreciates also the difference between the authority established automatically by competence, and not imposed as in the army. At bottom, one parries with the fellow who talks, and respects the worker who knows how to work. One of the miners told me that Philippe is listened to because he never refuses work.

We remain your friends,
Henriette and Philippe Vernier
and the company of Quaregnon

In Earth's Night

The years become the centuries;
All other lights grow dim
Except the radiance faith still sees
About the head of Him
Who is the Way, the Truth, the Light
For wandering, lost men
Who, if they find Him in earth's night,
Share heaven's hope, again!

—*Elinor Lennen*

GREAT BRITAIN

The Labor Government Now

By R. W. SORENSEN, M.P.

A Labor M.P. who was returned to Parliament in the February elections, Reginald Sorensen has for a long time been a leader in the religious and political pacifist movement in Great Britain.

THE AMERICAN and British languages have certainly more affinity than the French and German. Nevertheless, though "Batting on a sticky wicket" is almost a platitudinous metaphor among the British the nearest brief translation I can make for the benefit of Americans is that it suggests unpropitious circumstances prejudicial to success. The bowler in that curious English game called "cricket" has an advantage over the batsman defending three sticks or "stumps" from being knocked down by the ball when the pitch is "sticky." But do not confuse the sticks or stumps with the stickness of the bowling pitch. For that matter the stumps are also called the wicket but a "sticky wicket" does not refer to the actual stumps but to—well, you see what I mean, I hope. Of course it may be easier to explain baseball.

Anyhow, since 1945 the British Labor Government has been batting on a—etc. And it may be as exasperating to describe how and why as to explain about sticky wickets. Yet even as a batsman sometimes survives attack and scores well, so it has been on the whole with the Labor Government.

In a quiet country parish a retired Indian colonel assured the local vicar friend of mine (i.e. vicar of a 13th Century "Episcopal" church) in 1946 that "Thank God, it won't be long now before the bounders are out." This was not an allusion to cricket but to the Labor Government. Each succeeding year until 1950 the colonel's piety waned and only just escaped ending in atheism. It was, indeed, a grievous trial to many that notwithstanding colossal difficulties (and Hollywood must forgive my borrowing the adjective) somehow the bounders bounded on, socializing this and also that, building up the Welfare State, carrying several minor reforms and jumping over many formidable hurdles, until the long anticipated economic collapse somehow passed from the probable to the improbable.

Of course Marshall Aid was an immeasurable boon. So it was to other lands, but whereas unemployment and exorbitant prices stamped most national economies in their post-war reconstruction this was not so in Britain, though

some prices were high and great shortages existed. During the equivalent period after the first great war the number of man-hours lost in industrial disputes was 18 times greater than in the four years from 1945; and this may be the most eloquent index of the greater measure of democratic satisfaction with democratic fulfilment of democratic needs.

Therefore, when the 1950 General Election came, the fact that the Labor Government had survived its sticky wicket gave heart to its supporters and some dismay to its opponents. Lord Woolton for the Conservatives was installed as Salesman in Chief, with his reputation of having sold nonpolitical wares in his Manchester shops as an acceptable recommendation. Naturally he exploited to the full a host of grievances, including housing shortage and alleged vexatious controls. "Set the people free" cried Churchill, though he forgot to explain from what or how.

The result was that Labor lost 80 or so seats, and the new House of Commons contains 316 Labor MPs, 296 Conservatives, 9 Liberals and 4 others. Here is cause for rejoicing among the Conservatives and Lord Woolton's salesmanship appears justified. But that is only the framework limiting the full picture. Actually the Labor vote rose from 12 million to 13¼ millions, although the Conservative vote increased still more from 10 million to 12½ million while the Liberal vote with many more candidates than in 1945 only increased by 400,000 to 2,600,000.

With this statistical analysis many pretty pictures can be made by both sides. Thus Conservatives can declare the anti-socialist vote is Conservative plus Liberal = 15 million to 13¼ million. But Labor can retort that the anti-Conservative vote is Labor plus Liberal = 15¾ million to 12½ million. Beyond this lies the difficulty of assessing how Liberals would have voted in the absence of Liberal candidates, and it must be observed that Liberals for the most part endorsed some measure of socialization and whole-heartedly supported the steps taken to implement the Welfare State. So, as we say in England, "You pay your penny and take your choice."

The Real Issue

There is a further consideration: The Welfare State is at least nominally accepted by the Conservative Party, although with varying degrees of qualification and some amount of inconsistency. Anthony Eden, the popular and very likeable heir-apparent to Winston Churchill, declared a short time ago that the real and yet formidable gulf between the Labor and Conservative Parties was not the social services but social ownership. Americans should note this well, for it is significant even though paradoxical. In other words the Conservatives here are undermining individualism and all the other alleged victims of robust competitive acquisitiveness nominally as much as the Labor Party! Well, not quite as much, but at any rate they merit as much as some of us the scorn of those Americans who see evil and sinister signs in a Welfare State.

How much of that Conservative "me-tooism" is an advertising expedient charitable people will not

try to assess. Suffice it that, whatever the cause or reason, the one-time open resistance to the legislative application of the principle that "we are members one of another" has been substantially muted save for a chagrined few; or it takes the form of concentrating on efficient brakes to secure cumulative retardation. Meanwhile comprehensive social welfare is becoming as integrated as the core of an apple or the skins of an onion.

Cautious Optimism

It is of course fortunate that this achievement is accompanied by a very real promise of steady economic expansion in increased production and exports, assisted by last year's devaluation. Even the crucial year of 1952 when present American aid reaches its end is ceasing to look ominous. Barring unforeseen convulsions, emergence from the post-war forest of economic difficulties appears sufficiently likely to prevent optimism from sounding fatuous. Yet there are complex problems that harass the domestic statesmen, chief of these being the increasing clamor of the lowest-paid workers for an increase in pay. To whom should the modest increased harvest go, and how should it be dispensed—to the poorer wage-earners, to the extensively organized old age pensioners, to teachers, to spinsters demanding benefits at an earlier age than their more fortunate sisters, or to any of the other active pressure groups? They all deserve something to ease their lot and some will get it if only there could be agreement on priority of need. Difficult as this is to decide, concessions will have to be made deliberately or the dam will break and an inflationary flood will be set loose. It says much for the British masses that heretofore the dam has held.

There are precarious elements in British social and political life, but so long as these can be subordinated to a general confidence in slow but persistent improvement the Labor Party will suffer no cataclysm. An immediate General Election, it is generally agreed, would make little difference but leave the two major parties with much the same strength as now, although the luck of the game might add a dozen or so to the parliamentary Labor Party or conversely subtract enough to install a Conservative Party with a majority about as skimpy as that upon which the life of the present Government depends. The urban areas would remain Labor strongholds and the rural constituencies would return Conservative MPs for the most part —just as they did in February. This striking differentiation is likely to continue for some time until an unknown factor intervenes.

Such an intervention may come from events overseas, either through economic repercussions because of the vulnerability of British trade, or through the burden and fear of war preparation. There is no panic mood engendered by the latter, partly because Britain remains psychologically as well as geographically an island, and partly because notwithstanding emphatic political repudiation of communism (the only two Communist MPs and the half a dozen fellow-travellers were all "fired" by the elections) there is an underlying belief that Russia does not really

want war and that aggressiveness will retain its bark but not exercise its bite. Nevertheless, although there is criticism of Bevin and some aspects of foreign policy the British public in general believes that the Atlantic Pact and heavy expenditure on defensive measures is a common-sense insurance investment against a possible bite, and that without this there might be an inducement either to bite or the intimidation operated by the fear of this.

To all parties excepting the Communist the future is one of sombre obscurity to be faced with vague hope and resolute resignation. The international deadlock is accepted as a blank wall that, however, cannot last forever. Until there are signs of the cement crumbling or sounds of muscovite preparations to build a gateway, the Labor Government and the Labor Party believe it may be possible so to demonstrate democratic political and economic strength as to impress Communist Russia with the futility of its present negative policy. It takes pride and encouragement from the success of its Asiatic policy and its very real friendship with India and Pakistan. There is the grave problem of Malaya on its hands, and some ferment in the Colonies, but it has faith that its general colonial policy will prove pacifically effective.

South Africa presents peculiar and disturbing complications with its several racial conflicts and its secessionist dangers demanding most cautious diplomacy. Undoubtedly the Seretse Khama affair arose from this, and the denial of the Bamangwata chieftainship to him because he wed a white wife most probably would not have been made if the situation in South Africa had been less ominous.

These overseas headaches are endured by the Government rather than the people. The average man is naturally far more concerned with his weary search for accommodation, or the fate of his favorite football team, or the weekly task of making both ends meet, or his luck in gambling pools, or the progress of his garden allotment. Which is as it is in most parts of the world. Of course he wants peace, but he quietly rejoices in the peace he has got and tries to forget the possibility of another war, trusting to luck that he will not get it.

Not Too Precarious

The Labor Government is far less precarious than the outside may assume, even though its overall parliamentary majority is so small. Something may snap, of course, but there is a growing feeling that it will not be yet awhile, perhaps not until late next year. And by then there is increasing confidence in further economic improvement and, somehow, an easier international situation.

The Peace movements continue their critical or their constructive work (and there *is* this divergence) but with little popular response. A "peace petition" has been launched by a Communist-inspired body and gathers a fair number of signatures although in official Labor quarters it is discredited as Communist strategy. But on the question of the A-bomb there is a growing demand for initiative and drastic action, even though this is far from cogent. Some continue active

and zealous for world government or federalism, although this is largely confined to ardent middle class circles.

And so the British Labor Government continues to bat cautiously but unapologetically, its old crusading fervor diffused both by its relative success and by prevailing circumstances, yet now having among its supporters a dedicated habit of loyalty and an inner faith throwing a subdued light through a clouded world.

JAPAN

Constructing the Future

By JOHN NEVIN SAYRE

Joint Chairman of the International Fellowship of Reconciliation with F. Siegmund-Schultze of Germany and Percy Bartlett of England, Nevin Sayre returned in the early part of this year from a trip around the world, on which one port of call was Japan. His report on other countries will appear in a future issue.

OUR FIVE WEEKS in Japan were especially memorable. Through excellent arrangements made by the Quakers and the Japanese FOR, I was enabled to give 48 talks to approximately 9500 persons in Tokyo, Osaka, Kobe, Nishinomiya, Kyoto, Hiroshima, Mito, Annaka, Omi-Hackiman, and Kamakura. They were given in Christian churches and educational institutions, the universities of Tokyo and Kyoto, the Government School for Diplomats, Kyoto Rotary, the Osaka-Mainichi newspaper office, the Ittoen Settlement, one Shinto and two Buddhist temples, and a convention of two thousand social workers at Hiroshima. Kathleen also gave several talks in schools. Two meetings of the FOR were held in the Akasaka Detached Palace. We stayed two nights in Japanese homes. We had luncheon with General and Mrs. MacArthur, tea with Prime Minister Yoshida, dinner with Mrs. Vining, the American Quaker who tutors members of the royal family, and a 45-minute interview with the Emperor and Empress.

We were received with delightful friendliness everywhere and cannot recall a single gesture of hostility, either in the many discussions which followed our message or on the part of Japanese whom we met on the streets, in villages, railroad stations, etc. We accepted no assistance from occupation authorities in getting introductions to any Japanese, we stayed at no occupation hotel, except for one weekend at Kure; and when on several long railroad journeys we used occupation trains, we paid

our own fare. We were free to go where we chose and see whom we would. However, our visit had been sponsored by the Friends Service Committee and we shall be eternally grateful to Esther Rhoads who took care of us in the Tokyo Friends Center, which she has also made a home for the Japanese FOR.

Conversations with men like Kagawa, Kozaki, Ayusawa, and with missionaries who had had years of experience in Japan, confirmed the belief that to a remarkable degree the Japanese people are walking in the way laid down by their Emperor when he announced the end of the war and Japan's surrender. For the first time in history a Japanese Emperor spoke over the radio to his people. After mention of "the hardships and suffering to which our nation is to be subjected," he said, "we have resolved to pave the way for a grand peace for all generations to come by ending what is undesirable and by suffering what is sufferable. . . . Beware most sincerely of any outbursts of emotion which may engender needless complications. . . . Your total strength is to be developed for the construction of the future."

It was a great satisfaction to be able to thank His Majesty, face to face, for the initiative which he took in ending the war and for his noble utterance which did so much to effect the miracle of reconciliation which followed. We believe that great credit should also be given to General MacArthur for his part in the surrender proceedings, discipline of the American troops, tactful relations with the Emperor, and seeing to it that enough American supplies were brought in to prevent starvation and help the hard-working Japanese people get back on their feet.

Recovery and reconciliation have been assisted, too, by a great deal of voluntary aid from American churches and individuals. We were impressed by a new neighborhood center set up by the Friends in Toyama Heights, Tokyo, and by the two dwellings and gardens constructed by Floyd Schmoe's international team last summer and presented to the city of Hiroshima.

Hope for Peace

Recalling what we could still see of the bomb's destruction, and after reading again the accounts by W. H. Lawrence and John Hersey, we think that the forgiveness of enemies and sublimation of suffering to the cause of peace by the people of Japan, particularly in Hiroshima, is amazing. It suggests that great numbers of people the world over would gladly forget past injuries and do their bit for a world community if they could only be delivered from fear of attack by a hostile nation and if they could have leadership for peace that would "speak to their condition" and not appear to be leading them down some road to futility. Whether the Christian movement or the FOR can produce such leaders and persuasively show the right way is a question on which we must search our hearts continuously.

At the present time the religious forces in Japan are working hard to educate the people to give unchanging support to Japan's renunciation of armament and war. We attended a mass meeting of 10,000 persons in Tokyo called for this purpose and to commemorate

the war dead. Kagawa is pushing the idea through his widely distributed cooperative enterprises and magazines. He asked me to carry a letter from him to the World Pacifist Meeting in India. The Federation of International Religious Fellowship Societies sent their representative to this meeting with the message:

> "Our new constitution declares solemnly at home and abroad that Japan renounces war for all time to come. So we are resolved grimly to hold fast to *permanent neutrality* even if another world war breaks out, although this may involve eventually martyrdom of our entire nation."

The day after landing in Tokyo, I assisted in a memorial service to Theodore Walser. Subsequently I had meetings with fourteen of Ted's former students and as a result of these consultations the Theodore Walser Foundation was organized and a fund started to establish annual prizes over the next ten years for essays on Christian pacifism in both college and high school groups. A beginning was also made to set up loan libraries of literature on Christian pacifism in Tokyo and Kyoto. We aim to raise $5,000 and have secured $1,000. The committee in charge of this project is headed by Dr. Iwao Ayusawa and includes Esther Rhoads of the Friends Center, and myself, to whom further American contributions may be sent.

Near the beginning and end of our Japanese visit we had two moving meetings with about 25 Japanese members of the FOR. They intend to promote the Japanese FOR with new vigor. They have chosen as General Secretary the Rev. Paul Sekiya, a graduate of the Imperial University who also studied for two years at Cambridge, England, and had a church in Tokyo before the war. His father was Vice-Chamberlain of the Imperial Household. During the war Paul spent five years in China and worked to aid war prisoners, and was Professor of Religion for a term at St. John's University, Shanghai. Here he came into contact with Quakers and became a pacifist. Returning to Tokyo a year or two ago, he allied himself with Friends' work there and work for prisoners. Now half of his time will be devoted to FOR on a part-time salary. Dr. Ayusawa, who is chairman of the FOR, told us that Paul was the ideal person for this post. He and Mrs. Kora, a member of the Upper House of the Diet and Vice-Chairman of the FOR, took part in the World Pacifist Meeting in India.

"The messenger of peace must have equal regard for all the principal religions of the earth. Thus, if he is a Hindu, he will respect the other faiths current in India. He must, therefore, possess a knowledge of the general principles of the different faiths professed in the country."

—M. K. GANDHI
Harijan, June 18, 1938

LATIN AMERICA

A Call to Be Free

By WALDO FRANK

The North American intellectual who is probably the most respected and listened to in Latin America, Waldo Frank has traveled there widely and is the author of a number of books. This article appeared in El Espectador, *a leading liberal newspaper in Bogota, Colombia.*

THE COUNTER-REVOLUTION in Venezuela is the concern of every American. Its threat and its lesson to us all have an importance that carries beyond the frontiers of any republic. To judge it, one need not be an expert in the politics of Venezuela. Let us suppose, as the Venezuelan army claims, that the government of Venezuela, despite its superb program of social progress, was sectarian and inefficient. Let us even admit that certain officers of the army, after collaborating in the liberal revolution of 1945 which established constitutional rule and resulted in the election of Venezuela's first President by popular vote, sincerely believed it their national duty to throw that President out and start all over again. It is nevertheless true that the worst civil government is infinitely better than any military rule. It is also true that to remedy the defects of a civil government by a barracks putsch is to cure a disease by killing the patient. And it is above all true that an army, of all constituted groups, is the least well equipped to rule. Until these truths become self-evident from Mexico to Argentina, there is no hope for democracy in Latin America.

This is not to say that individual soldiers may not be admirably qualified to participate in government. Latin America's greatest statesman of the past fifty years is a soldier—General Lazaro Cardenas of Mexico. And he was one of the first publicly to express his horror at the putsch of the Venezuelan army.

The basic attitude of the military mind toward government and society was well expressed by Lieutenant Colonel M. Perez Jimenez, true leader of the counter-revolution, who only recently is reported in the Caracas press to have said: "The same social equilibrium as that achieved in the armed forces is what we need for all the people of Venezuela." An army is an instrument of destruction and death. It is meant for nothing else, it is

good for nothing else. As a tool for developing the subtle interplay of liberties, sensibilities, and imagination, of human trial and error, by which in a democracy men learn to grow and to live, an army is as efficient as a machete would be for nurturing a child or for creating a work of art.

What Can Be Done

But we liberals and radicals are far too prone to throw up our hands in virtuous horror at the military wave rising over Latin America, and to stop at that. We ought to collect our wits and with deep searching of heart and mind *find out what we can do about it.* The basic values of democracy, never realized by any nation, are threatened in the entire West. The danger is melodramatically present in Latin America and in Europe; but we of the United States know that we too are not exempt from it. No one, no nation, is safe.

But what can we do—we who have no tanks, no bombs? What, specifically, can the Latin American peoples do, who after the tragic trial and error of the whole Nineteenth Century seemed, with the Mexican revolution of 1910, at last to stand at a new dawn and now, midway in the Twentieth Century, find themselves in a new darkness?

First, we must understand. . . . A democratic social order depends upon the stability, the harmony, the *consciousness* of the productive classes. These conditions of maturity exist in very few nations of Latin America; are not found in the industrial or agricultural workers, or in the professional groups, or in the bourgeoisie, which is more and more affected by powerful American interests. The result is endemic chaos; and in this chaos the army stands out as the one seemingly solid and stable power, although actually it is and can be merely the guardian and perpetuator of the existing chaos.

To indicate how this disastrous situation can be met would require deep analysis and complex comment, for which I have no space here. But certain premises are obvious. The answer is not another army, not more violence, not the capture of the army by another authoritarian group, as has happened in Russia. The productive classes of the nation must be strengthened; and above all their relations one with another must be made closer. The students, the intellectuals, and the professionals must actively collaborate with the workers, industrial and agricultural. They must nourish one another. They must enhance their consciousness and their efficiency. They must learn to know their needs, in order to fight for them. They must know their enemies. And of all their enemies, the one closest to home is the army.

There must be a program which every productive man, woman, and child can understand—and love as the land is loved and the home. Here are a few of its indispensable items:

(1) Socialize the national wealth, expropriate the exploiters, national and foreign; (2) universalize the services of health and education; (3) build communications between the towns and the country, between the productive classes, and between the Latin American nations, possessors of one potential

culture; (4) *abolish the army,* substituting for it modest national instruments of internal order, with the weapons of a mere police force.

These items go together. But let us consider the last one. Latin America needs no armies. And a constructive program of social and economic independence will always be hampered and threatened with instant death until its armies are gone. The world at large, indeed, had better get rid of its armies, if humanity is to survive. But whereas this is a fatally utopian proposal in nations like the United States and Soviet Russia, which think they must defend themselves against each other with gigantic armies, navies, and air forces, the nations of Latin America are more fortunate, for they must know that *their* armies cannot possibly defend them against an attack by giants. All their tanks and bombers are good for is to tempt the little Perons and Duces who pullulate everywhere to take over, to absorb the wealth of the land and to stifle the spirit of the people.

Humanity takes a step forward only at those rare moments of history when a people—often a little people like the Greeks or the Jews —*dares* to take advantage of its opportunities; dares to accept the challenge of its weakness. For instance: civil government grew in the United States during the Nineteenth Century because we were willing to remain militarily weak and to depend on the British navy to defend us against invasion by rival powers . . . and to devote all our energies to developing our natural resources. In the same way today, if the nations of Latin America are wise they will let the giants exhaust themselves with their lethal games and bravely devote themselves to winning and to populating their own lands. For this creative task Latin America has the spiritual and intellectual capacity. Has it the originality? Has it, above all, the courage?

Creed for Freedom

Here is a creed worthy of the devotion of Latin America's youth —one which will win their joyous cooperation:

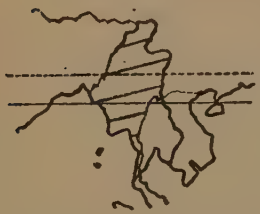
"No violence! Meetings, yes. Demonstrations, yes. Leave the violence to the enemy, who is a specialist in death. On the plane of violence you will always be helpless against armies and against the kind of men—under whatever 'form of government'—who command armies. But if you develop your consciousness and that of the people, if you grow strong in spirit by arousing and working with the latent spirit of the people, your innate powers will unite you, and the armies will be helpless against you. For tanks and bombers can threaten your bodies and your homes only so long as you, the producers, feed them and give them fuel. Without these an army will be reduced to impotence in twenty-four hours by a nation armed only with solidarity of purpose. You can learn more today, youth of America, from Gandhi than from Stalin.

"Organize and socialize your lands and take them over at last! Deepen the relations between city and country, between technician and artist. Let your women learn the slogan: *Abolish the army!* Go to the workers in the fields and teach them the land is theirs. Go to the factory workers and teach

them that the factories are theirs. And never let the people forget the slogan: *Abolish the army!*

"Then, and then only, will the day come when the recent events of Argentina, Peru, Venezuela, Salvador will be impossible forevermore. And the deep, creative energy of the Latin American peoples, now so often exiled to your folk songs and folk dances, will take over the social-economic body of your continent and make it great."

(Reprinted by permission from The Nation, March 19, 1949)



BURMA

Savage Question

By J. MARTIN ENGLAND

The American Baptist Mission at Bhamo, Burma, from which J. Martin England writes, is no out-of-the-way outpost, but a crossroads of the world, where must be faced the very questions that are asked in New York and London, Paris and Tokyo.

MA NAW, young and full of zeal, beginning his work as a village preacher in the wild Yunnan border mountains, came to ask a question I have tried to answer ever since. It was in the year 1938.

Said he, "In a village near my own, the people listened carefully to my words. Now they tell me they are ready to walk the Jesus Road, all except one part. They believe the teachings: 'Love your enemies, do good to them that hate you, overcome evil with good.' But it will be hard for them to follow, because their chief often sends them to kill people of other villages with whom he quarrels. If they refuse to go the chief will chop off their heads. What shall I tell them?"

Anxiously he repeated, "Big teacher, must they obey Jesus, or their chief?"

In the West, in that very year, Jesus' followers who had walked his road for many years burned with an angry fever to kill villagers on the other side of *their* valleys. To advise these newcomers on the Way to refuse to kill, at the risk of their lives, seemed a hard test of faith. I was even more troubled than Ma Naw. I put him off, saying I would think it over.

When I went back to America, a year later, I took with me the problem Ma Naw had brought, hoping to find the answer. In churches, schools, and homes, I put the question. During a lively discussion in a Sunday School class the pastor's charming young wife said, "Tell them to obey Jesus, even if they

do get their heads chopped off!"

"And shall I tell them also," I asked, "that American Christians, too, will thus obey Jesus when *their* chief orders *them* out to kill people of other villages?"

"Oh! that's different," she replied, as the eager light went out of her face. It was clear she thought Jesus would rather have heads roll, for his sake, in Yunnan or Burma than in America.

Back again, after the war, I have met Ma Naw once more. He asks no questions now. His story of the war years made clear how the eager, confident youth he had been before could become the uncertain, tense, beaten man he was now. In his border country fields were destroyed, cattle, pigs, mules driven off or killed, whole villages burned.

Not for obeying Jesus did men lose their heads then, but for running afoul of the armies and bandit gangs who raided and plundered through the hills. At last, Ma Naw says, the soldiers have gone. In his village a little chapel has been built where the old one stood. Again a young woman gathers the children there to teach them. The war has gone. But so has the mind of poor Ma Roi, Ma Naw's wife. No bombs fall now, but the charred posts of the old houses are only half hidden by the tangled jungle. Hope, confidence, the promised freedom from fear, these are slow to return. An anxious dread of an evil future gnaws the scar of a blighted yesterday.

Around the world those who lived under the pointed end of bombs and shells need our help even yet. Here in these hills the sick need atabrin, sulfa drugs, vitamins. Some even yet have not enough clothes. Village preachers need Bibles and hymn books. School teachers need text books, pictures, maps, garden seeds. Depend on us who see it to remind you of their lack.

But there is another need, greater yet. It is wrapped up in Ma Naw's disturbing question. Could he and his friends speak to you, they would say this:

"Send, we beg of you, more teachers of the Jesus way, more doctors and nurses to heal with the Jesus touch, books for our hungry minds, clothes for our naked poor. Pray the blessings of his love and forgiveness into our fearful hearts.

"But more yet we plead.

"You walk the Jesus way also when your own quarrels threaten to rain once more your fiery eggs of hell on our helpless villages. Set at rest forever your giant wheels of war. If they roll again they will grind into mangled, bleeding pulp many of the little people like ourselves who have no place to hide. Preach the Jesus way, heal the Jesus way, yes. But vote the Jesus way. Send men with the Jesus heart to speak for you at the great councils of the nations.

"If you wish us to learn to walk on the Jesus Road, do good to the enemy villagers across *your* valleys."

Is there any other answer to Ma Naw's question?

F.O.R. Annual Conference

September 8-10

See back cover for details

FRANCE

The Mills of Peace

By ANDRE TROCME

European FOR Secretaries André and Magda Trocmé, founders of the College Cevenol, have moved their headquarters from Le Chambon sur Lignon in southern France to Versailles, just outside of Paris.

THE NEW EUROPEAN FOR headquarters is a large house in the midst of a large garden in Versailles, twenty-eight minutes by train from Gare Saint-Lazare. One edge of the building is adorned by a tower which gives to the house a baronial aspect. But do not be mistaken, the tower has never been used for a military purpose. In the Eighteenth Century, at the beginning of the French Revolution, the last French king Louis XVI, tried to feed the starving Paris population by building on the top of a hill near Versailles two windmills. They were "Mills of Peace." From them Louis XVI was nicknamed "le boulanger" and the Queen "la boulangere" and their son "le petit mitron." Alas, the efforts of Louis XVI failed, the Revolution took a bloody turn. The King and the Queen were executed.

Well, the tower of our house is one of these two mills. We live in a "Mill of Peace." Let us hope that we shall not fail like Louis XVI.

The essential thing is not to be a failure spiritually. We believe strongly that, even if we do not succeed in maintaining peace, an inner fidelity to the spirit of Christ is already a victory. On the second floor of the tower, we arranged a silent room, where we shall every day recollect our souls and try to go back to God and His inspirations.

Speaking of the second floor, it has three big rooms and several smaller ones which will be used as dormitories for conference guests. The first floor has a large kitchen, adapted for cooperative peeling and dish-washing, a dining-room and a very large meeting-room. In spring and summer, meetings will be held on the lawn. The third floor will be arranged for my family.

Now, who shall be our guests? Essentially our intention is to mingle groups of people with different outlooks, for example, college students from Africa or the East with European students, French and Germans, Continentals and "insular" Englishmen, Communists and Christians, and so on.

Paris, like all the big cities, is so busy, and distances are so long, that it is almost impossible to call

together evening meetings. When people are back home from their work, and have taken the late French dinner, they do not wish to go to the City any more. This is why we searched for so many years a place where we could invite people for weekends, let them have a quiet afternoon and Sunday, while they talk and discuss problems without haste. Our experience is that behind the tensions and oppositions between men, personal problems very often are hidden. To show a true interest for each man's problem, to make friends with the people we invite, seems to us the best contribution we can make to the solution of the problem of Peace.

Our dream, of course, would be that Versailles would become the beating heart of French pacifism. But this is a dream like those parents make for new-born babies, and here I prefer to stop writing and to go back to more material works.

A New Life Beginning

By MAGDA TROCME

HERE WE ARE in the new house! We have $400 to start the house and so many things are necessary. We thought to buy things monthly and to have weekend conferences only later when everything would be ready. But the need for such a house *is so great* that we have already after tomorrow the first weekend! People meeting to prepare a pamphlet to influence the government to recognize COs in France and to prepare next week's big demonstration (Sunday, 7th May), which has the same purpose. Posters are to be carried through the Paris streets by sixty men, the women are going to distribute printed bills and everything is going to be done in silence. André and myself are going to take part in this demonstration and our "foster mother" Mlle. Reynier is going to stay home because we have here our second weekend for "the French Quaker Youth."

Supplies Scarce

It is very cold. We had snow yesterday, but we do not light the heating, and work with coats on because so many things have to be purchased for this house. Even the mattresses are made at home to spare money! We buy the cups and plates and forks and so on just for the small amount of people who are coming and we prepare mattresses and pillows for the same number. We have a number of folding beds, but all of them need some repairs. It would be such a wonderful thing if some friends could be interested in it and help financially.

It is a hard work and we are

(*Continued on page* 32)

News from the Peace Front

Red Cross Calls for Ban on Atom Warfare

In a letter to all governments signatory to the Geneva Conventions on the rules of war, the International Committee of the Red Cross, in Geneva, on May 2 urged "all steps to reach agreement on a prohibition of atomic weapons and, in a general way, of all non-directed missiles." The Committee declared that "the foundations upon which its mission is based will disappear" if warfare assumes the form of total destruction. "The mere assumption that atomic weapons may be used for whatever reason," the letter continued, "is enough to make illusory any attempt to protect noncombatants by legal texts." The letter offered any aid the Red Cross could give "in a strictly humanitarian capacity," in solving the problem.

In reporting the letter, the New York *Times* added: "This intervention . . . is expected to have a profound effect throughout Europe. It expresses . . . the concern and dread felt in Europe at the present United States policy of being prepared for atomic war. That such preparations are motivated by fear of attack or distrust of Russian intentions simply fail to impress most Europeans of whatever political hue." The Red Cross asked the governments to reply to its proposals. United States spokesmen indicated no change in present American policy, and said that it was Russian intransigence that stood in the way of settlement of atomic control.

Southwest F.O.R. Holds Indian Work Camp

Glenn Smiley, Secretary of the Southwest FOR, was the leader of an FOR-sponsored work camp on the Cocopah Indian Reservation at Somerton, Arizona, in April. About three hundred Cocopahs live on a reservation of about 350 acres, of which about 159 acres are well suited for irrigation and 106 acres fairly well suited. However, the water has to be bought at $12.50 per acre (this has risen from $4.00 per acre in 1942), and most of the land is not under cultivation now. The Southwest FOR is paying for water, plowing costs and seed for a five-acre tribal garden.

Only 58 of the more than 300 Cocopahs are enrolled as wards of the government. The others live on the Reservation but have no official status, receive no government benefits, and are not even eligible for health services. In 1943 the annual income of enrolled Cocopahs was about $666, and is much lower now. Unenrolled Cocopahs must make a living as casual farm laborers.

Twelve young people from California and New Mexico colleges participated in the work camp, which lived in the recreation hall of the little Methodist Church and

did its own cooking and cleaning. The group erected horizontal bars, teeter-totters and other equipment for a playground, to the delight of the Cocopah children, who swarmed around the campers and responded eagerly to the kindness and attention they received. Eight wells were sunk, with pumps attached, furnishing good clean water to as many settlements, some of as many as five families. Two outhouses were moved from the side of the irrigation ditch, from which the Indians drink and in which they wash, and a few other small jobs were done. Much of the equipment was donated by storekeepers, or sold to the work camp at very low prices.

In addition to the material benefits, the Cocopahs have elected a tribal council to run their affairs, for the first time in some years; and the five-acre tribal garden is in good shape and is assiduously tended. The project has also had the effect of arousing the interest of outsiders in the FOR.

Mothers Visit White House, Write to Stalin

On Mothers' Day, in May, a group of women representing the Mothers Against War presented a letter at the White House signed by 2,300 mothers in 42 states pledging that they would "do all in our power to educate our sons and daughters to refuse to take part in war or in any phase of the militarization of America." The same letter was sent to Premier Stalin, and the group carried on a poster walk in front of the White House.

The group was originally organized from the ranks of the FOR, the WRL and Peacemakers, but has spread rapidly to women outside these groups.

Observe August 6 Throughout the World

World Peace Day (Hiroshima Day), August 6, will be noted throughout the world as a day of observances for peace. The idea was first implemented in 1948, when meetings were held in a number of countries and a number of prominent religious and other organizations sponsored it. In 1949 the observances were widespread, with 30,000 assembled in Hiroshima, where the ground was broken for the World Peace Center, meetings in every major city in Japan, and in Germany, Austria, Denmark, Uruguay, Norway, England, Australia, India, the United States, and a great many other countries.

In Hiroshima this year the ground will be broken for an international Peace Bridge. Plans are already under way for meetings in Malta, Belgium, the Gold Coast, India, Germany, Greece, Denmark, Sweden, Chile, France, England, the United States, and other countries. A feature of this year's observance will be the ringing of church bells all over the world at 8:15 A.M. on August 6, and FELLOWSHIP's readers may want to speak to their ministers about this. One of the main issues to be brought out at World Peace Day observances will be the demand for international atomic control. For further information write to Alfred W. Parker, 609 Santa Ray Avenue, Oakland 10, California.

Church and War Conference Follow-up

The highly rewarding Conference on the Church and War, sponsored by the FOR and a number of denominational fellowships and other organizations, is the beginning of a program of carrying pacifism to the churches. The Post-Conference Committee has asked that A. J. Muste devote a good deal of his time to this in the coming months, a plan that was approved by the FOR National Council. Two main emphases will be on the spreading of the message of the Conference by individuals and groups in their own communities, and preaching missions to take place probably in eight cities and their environs between October 16 and November 11.

Muste to California in July and August

From July 28 to August 4, A. J. Muste will be a leader at an AFSC Retreat-Workshop at YMCA Camp Ocean Pines in Cambria, California. It is designed primarily for pacifists and peace-workers, will cost $20 for each person, and will combine prayer, discussion and work.

From August 5-12 A. J. Muste will lead a Family Institute for the AFSC at Pinecliff Springs Camp in Forest Home, California. The cost will be $50 per family, including all children under 12 years, with a program on family life designed for both parents and children. For information about either of these, write to Glenn Smiley, FOR Southwest Secretary, Room 115, 213 South Broadway, Los Angeles 12, California.

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GANDHI'S LETTERS TO A DISCIPLE

With An Introduction by John Haynes Holmes

The extraordinary relationship of Mahatma Gandhi and Mira behn, the Englishwoman, has been likened to that of Master and Beloved Disciple.

With plain frankness, and utter honesty, Gandhi writes Mira of the care of her soul in terms that are universal. From his ashram, from prison, from his march to the sea, and even from London, Gandhi wrote his faithful disciple with the same attention to detail and directness of language he would use in addressing a message to the Houses of Parliament. Noteworthy, however, in these letters, is the extraordinary depth of spiritual insight and the great simplicity—hence moving power—with which it is conveyed.

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To Be Published Early Next Month

THE SECRET OF LIFE

By Roy A. Burkhart

The secret of life which seems to evade so many is simply the discovery of who we are, whence we came and whither we are going, Dr. Burkhart's new book shows. Written warmly and directly, it provides a much-needed primer on the spiritual life. Because the author relates the insights of psychology, the wisdom of spiritual guides ancient and modern, and his own rich experience in counselling, the book has an immediate, personal quality that will have great appeal.

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Indiana COs Jailed, Richter, Cannon Lose

Although the current draft act has not been used to draft anyone for over a year, three COs were imprisoned after failing to win a Supreme Court hearing. Francis Henderson, William Wildman, Charles Frantz and Richard Shufflebarger were sentenced last July to 90 days and $100 fine each. Henderson has served his sentence; the others will now have to serve theirs.

This decision will probably affect the cases of Robert Wixom, appealing a year and a day sentence from Illinois, and Robert Richter and Robert Cannon, appealing three-year sentences imposed in Los Angeles. All of these cases are pending before the Supreme Court, and will presumably now be denied.

Richter's case was rejected by the Circuit Court of Appeals in San Francisco on April 5, the court declaring that registration did not violate a man's religious freedom, and that the fact that he had written a letter to the government did not constitute registration. On April 19 Cannon's case was denied in the same court, which found his case "entirely without merit in law." However, the statement continued, "we have something additional to say." The court, composed of Chief Judge Denman with Circuit Judges Stephens and Orr, then pointed out that Cannon was a zealous theological student, and "in the generic meaning of the term he is not a criminal at all. . . . He chose to violate the law and a penalty for intentional law violation can hardly be written so as to excuse the zealot and punish the venal. There is room here, however, for executive action. The members of this panel of this court are of the opinion that the Justice Department of the national government should carefully reexamine this case and all others of like nature with a view to relieving young conscientious zealots from the overwhelming burden of carrying the felon's brand past the period of rash decision and throughout their lifetime." So far as is known, this action of three respected, highly placed judges, suggesting that the Justice Department not prosecute COs even when they do violate the law, is virtually unprecedented.

The appeal of Dr. Wirt A. Warren, convicted of counseling non-registration, to the Supreme Court was denied, and on February 2 he started serving his sentence which the judge reduced at that time from two years to a year and a day. He was eligible for parole late in June, and has been summoned for a hearing on whether or not he will be allowed to continue the practice of medicine in view of his felony conviction.

Amos Brokaw of Muncie, Indiana, is in danger of a third prison sentence for refusal to register. During the war he served a term under the Selective Service Act of 1940, and later served another under the Selective Service Act of 1948. He was registered by prison officials on his release last November, and later was sent a questionnaire by his draft board. He refused to fill it out, and although the Act provides that the board could fill it out for him, they have turned over his name to the U.S. Attorney for prosecution.

Snowball in July—

DISARMAMENT

It's time for peacemakers to push! Even in the midst of the cold war, surrounded by belligerence, threats, and huge military budgets, peace sentiment is snowballing. Congressional disarmament proposals get a country-wide response—the people do *want peace. It's time for peacemakers to push. There are excellent new materials on militarism and disarmament; stock up today.*

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The Swarthmore College Peace Collection is now in possession of a complete set of *The World Tomorrow*, FELLOWSHIP'S predecessor, with the exception of three issues in 1921. The missing issues are Volume IV, Numbers 4, 5 and 7, and anyone who possesses these issues and would like to donate them to the Collection, where they will be used by students and others for reference, should write to Ellen Starr Brinton, Swarthmore College, Swarthmore, Pennsylvania.

If you have publications or documents of the peace movement, in this country or elsewhere, let Ellen Starr Brinton know.

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Call to Observe Hiroshima Day

At 8:10 A.M. on August 6, 1945, the clocks stopped in Hiroshima. The Hiroshima 1950 Committee, of which A. J. Muste, John Swomley, Bayard Rustin, John Haynes Holmes, and Victor Paschkis are some of the members, calls on all people in this country to observe this day and time. The Committee suggests the holding of a religious service at 8 A.M. Sunday morning;; a meeting for the public; a demonstration at one of the atomic installations; a picket or poster walk;; a 24-hour vigil ending at 8:10 A.M.;; or a fast of one or more meals. The Committee suggests the observance by everybody, in meeting or out, of a minute of silence at 8:10 A.M. It will supply material to help in the organization and publicity for such projects, and asks that individuals and groups send plans for such observances, and reports of what happened immediately afterward. Write to the Committee at 513 West 166th Street, New York 32.

Discuss IFOR Work at Holland Conference

Nevin Sayre, International FOR Secretary, and John Swomley, Associate Secretary of the FOR in the U.S., and 18 other delegates from this country will attend the IFOR Conference to be held in the conference house of the Dutch Christian Youth Movement at Woudschoten, near Zeist, Utrecht, Holland, from July 24-28. Representatives from FOR groups throughout the world will attend, to a total of about two hundred.

WRL and NYFOR Query Congressmen

The War Resisters League, with some slight assistance from the New York FOR, has sent a letter and questionnaire to all Senators and Congressmen, asking them about their stand on conscription, on disarmament, and on various aspects of the cold war and possible solutions to it. The information will be used to guide pacifists in the fall elections. WRL and FOR members are urged to follow up on this when their representatives are at home for vacations, and also to visit and query candidates not now in Congress who will be running in the fall. For copies of the questionnaire, write to the War Resisters League, 5 Beekman Street, New York City 7.

PLAN *now*

to attend the

Thirty-Fifth Annual
F.O.R. NATIONAL
CONFERENCE

September 8-10, 1950

First Methodist Church
Evanston, Illinois

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Niemoller Urges German Neutrality

Pastor Martin Niemöller, German churchman, recently made a speaking tour urging Christians to follow the way of Jesus. "Better with Christ on the cross, than without him in a wrong safety. The present development can only lead to war. We must cling to each other as creatures of God. War will be inevitable if Western Germany joins the North Atlantic Pact, or with Eastern Germany. We must ignore the iron curtain and be ready to sacrifice for peace that the Lord's will be done."

These appeals received many unfriendly comments on the radio and in the press, and there was much misrepresentation of what he had actually said. Eventually an open letter he had written was broadcast and seemed to clear up the situation. A short time later, however, the Council of the Evangelical Church of Germany, of which Niemöller is a member, declared that appeals of "church persons" who have disturbed the public did not represent the view of the Evangelical Church.

The Liberal and Reconstruction

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Draft Extension Passes, Goes to President

A two-year extension of the Selective Service system was passed by a vote of 216 to 11 by the House of Representatives on May 24. This bill would extend the registration and classification features of Selective Service for young men between the ages of 18 and 26 until June 24, 1952, but would bar inductions unless a joint resolution of both Houses was passed declaring a national emergency. On June 8 the Senate Armed Services Committee recommended a three-year draft extension, and giving the President power to order inductions.

On June 28 and 29 Congress passed a one-year emergency extension of the present draft in response to the Korean crisis.

Pacifist Books Reviewed Favorably

A Field of Broken Stones, by Lowell Naeve and David Wieck, on the prison experiences of a CO, and *Prison Etiquette*, edited by Holley Cantine and Dachine Rainer, a symposium by ex-prison COs, were favorably reviewed by Edmund Wilson in the May 13 issue of *The New Yorker*. *A Field of Broken Stones* was also reviewed in the June 4 Sunday New York *Times* book review section.

FRANCE

(*Continued from page* 23)

tired and we carry on the office work and the preparation of the seminar 1950, but the trees are blooming in the garden and people write and phone and are so interested in this work. We already had four Germans, a Negro of Madagascar, an Arabian of North Africa and French people for meals. Howard Schomer comes for the night tomorrow. I gave a few lectures on India to make money for Versailles when André was in the hospital, but now I have to stick to the house, to clean, to cook, to buy things, to carry beds and seats and so on, to write letters and to jump from the office to the kitchen, from the kitchen to the house door or garden gate, to climb to our apartment on the third floor and fly down again. I am not well, but better, and André is getting better, but slowly. But nevertheless we have wings because we start something new, interesting and useful and because it is almost as difficult as it was to start the College Cévénol. After this "new born baby" we are going to be old enough to die or to retire—I prefer the second possibility because I like life although I have not much time to enjoy it!

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FOR Field Secretaries

Midwest: **Albert Watson, 740 Rush Street, Chicago 11, Ill.;** ***Far West:*** **Orval Etter, 1941 Oregon Street, Berkeley 3, Cal.;** ***Southwest:*** **Glenn Smiley, Room 115, 213 S. Broadway, Los Angeles 12, Cal.;** ***Middle Atlantic:*** **Charles Walker, 2006 Walnut Street, Philadelphia 3, Pa.**

Prepare Now to Work in the Churches in the Fall!

The Conference on the Church and War has started something. There's going to be a campaign to bring pacifism to the churches—the Church Peace Mission—headed up by A. J. Muste, including a preaching mission in October and November. FOR members are going to be busy, and the first thing they're going to do is to be sure they're up to date in their reading. Lolling in their hammocks this summer, FOR members will be found reading theological tomes instead of light novels and mystery stories. Here are a few suggestions for *your* vacation!

A FIRM FAITH FOR TODAY
By Harold Bosley $3.00

NOT BY MIGHT
By A. J. Muste $2.50

PILLARS OF FAITH
Nels F. S. Ferre $1.50

NEW TESTAMENT BASIS OF PACIFISM
G. H. C. Macgregor $.50

TIME TO SPARE
Douglas V. Steere $2.00

THE AUDACITY OF FAITH
Allan A. Hunter $1.75

THE MAN FROM NAZARETH
Harry Emerson Fosdick $3.00

CHRISTIAN PACIFISM AFTER TWO WORLD WARS
Leyton Richards $2.00

Coming in the Fall!

THE DAGGER AND THE CROSS
Culbert G. Rutenber
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F.O.R. NATIONAL CONFERENCE 1950

Thirty-Fifth Anniversary

September 8, 9, and 10, 1950

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Guest Speaker: CANON CHARLES E. RAVEN, former Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge University; Master of Christ College, Cambridge; Hon. Chairman British FOR; Gifford Lecturer for 1951.

The Fellowship of Reconciliation's 35th Annual National Conference will be held in a time of decision for the world and for the FOR. Where are we going? What shall we do? Should we emphasize pacifist community? civil disobedience? disarmament? world government? FOR members and friends will come from all over the country to bring their ideas and find out what others are thinking. You come too!

See conference folder for further details.

F.O.R. STUDY CONFERENCE

September 5-8, 1950

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Local, grass-roots activity is the emphasis of the FOR's program, as outlined by the Policy Committee and the National Council. Accommodations for not more than 90, so individuals who wish to enroll should apply immediately. Each local group should make a special effort to send one of its best and most active members, financing the trip cooperatively if necessary and possible.

Write to A. J. Muste for details.

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